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## SOVIET NEWS AND PROPAGANDA ANALYSIS

VOL. 1, NO. 9, 1981

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SOVIET NEWS AND PROPAGANDA ANALYSIS

FROM

RED STAR

(The Official Newspaper of the Soviet Defense Establishment)

FOR THE PERIOD 1-30 SEPTEMBER 1981

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Soviet News and Propaganda Analysis for the Period 1 - 30 September 1981

Executive Summary

Russian propaganda continues to be insidious and threatening about all aspects of United States foreign policy. This reflects Moscow's conviction that psychological warfare should be offensively oriented. The Kremlin continued to insist that the United States will sacrifice Europe in the event of nuclear war. As in previous months, a major focus of Soviet propaganda was that the Reagan administration favors nuclear war in Europe, and President Reagan believes he can win a nuclear war.

During September 1981, Soviet rhetoric and media highlighted the propaganda themes that "Reagan is pushing the world into war" and the "objective of the U.S. military build-up is to obtain world supremacy." The scope and tone of Soviet propaganda was insidious and inflammatory with respect to all aspects of U.S. foreign policy. Moscow underscored and headlined the following topics: (1) the neutron threat to Europe - neutron weapons indicate that Washington remains on the course of militarism and desires to accelerate the arms race; (2) Western Europe is the Pentagon's hostage - U.S. will deploy 600 new (Pershing II) missiles to NATO; therefore, Europe might be used as a step in increasing U.S. aggression against the USSR; (3) United States continues to increase its military forces in the Middle East/Persian Gulf area; and (4) the people of Western Europe (and all over the world) strongly oppose the deployment of U.S. nuclear missiles to Europe.

Soviet propagandists have consistently underscored that the U.S. military is developing a vast arsenal of new chemical and bacteriological weapons. In September, Moscow accelerated its campaign that Washington intends to use chemical and biological warfare in future military operations. It was also emphasized that "in researching and developing chemical and bacteriological warfare agents, tests are being conducted on ordinary (U.S.) citizens."

The Soviets continued to exploit the activities of the CIA. Moscow claimed that the Indian police uncovered a CIA plot to kill Indira Gandhi. The plot, according to the Soviet press, "was created by a terrorist organization which is known to have contacts with the CIA."

Soviet propagandists exhibited a marked interest in underscoring the expansion of the U.S. Navy. In September the Kremlin published a series of articles under the banner headline "U.S. Navy - Weapons of Expansion, Aggression and Violence." Particular attention was given to aircraft carriers as being symbolic of U.S. aggression and imperialism.

A series of Russian propaganda articles underscored that the "foreign policy of the Reagan administration is similar to that which brought the United States into the war in Vietnam." The Kremlin noted that Washington claims that its foreign policy intends to battle international terrorism; yet, it is characterized by "provocative dependence on military power and provocative incidents such as attacks on Libyan aircraft."

During September, the amount of print space allocated to the arms race decreased from the previous month. However, the scope and tone of Soviet rhetoric in regard to U.S. weapons production was dogmatic and unequivocal. Moscow insisted that the United States and NATO are intent on obtaining military supremacy (and world hegemony), whereas the Soviet Union is the champion of disarmament and detente.

Russian propagandists strongly assailed U.S. military assistance to Israel and Egypt. Moscow eagerly exploited all aspects of U.S. relations with the government of South Africa. As in previous months, the Kremlin underscored that U.S. military assistance to Pakistan can only lead to greater world tension and threaten all of Asia. In addition, Soviet rhetoric continued to zealously exploit all aspects of U.S. relations with China.

Coverage of political/economic events in Poland increased notably in September 1981. Moscow's rhetoric was inflammatory and assiduously harsh in regard to the "anti-Soviet" and "anti-socialist" elements of Solidarity. The Kremlin's extreme displeasure with the political/economic situation in Poland was clearly indicated by the very harsh and bombastic language used in reporting the activities of Solidarity, and especially the conference in Gdansk. For example, it was strongly assailed that:

- Solidarity is not willing to cooperate with the Polish Communist Party and the crisis will become worse;
- Solidarity is spreading counterrevolution, chaos and anarchy;
- Solidarity is becoming a socio-political organization, not a labor union;
- Solidarity is encouraging confrontation with the government;
- Solidarity wants to seize power from the Polish government;
- Solidarity is conducting a large-scale, anti-Soviet campaign;
- Solidarity continues to undermine the Government;
- Radical groups in Solidarity continue their attempts to seize power from the Government;
- Solidarity is trying to change the economic and social structure in Poland; and
- Solidarity is trying to export counterrevolution.

The intensity of Soviet propaganda directed toward China increased by two percent in September. The major thrust of Soviet rhetoric underscored Peking's policy of expansion and hegemony in Asia. Particular propaganda emphasis was placed on Chinese military and paramilitary aggression toward

India and Vietnam. Other propaganda themes stressed by Moscow included: (1) the Sino-American military alliance; (2) the "evil triangle" between China-Japan-United States; and (3) China continues to send military aid to Pakistan.

During September, the editors of the leading Soviet military newspaper volubly reported the events associated with a major Soviet military exercise - ZAPAD-81. The joint (Army-Navy-Marine-Air Force) exercise was staged in the Byelorussian Baltic Region of the Soviet Union. Marshalls Ustinov and Ogarkov inspected and reviewed the troops that participated in ZAPAD-81. Marshall Ustinov praised the progress of the exercise and the military readiness of the Soviet armed forces. The Soviet Defense Minister emphasized that enhanced readiness is "necessary in the face of the increasing threat from the United States and NATO militarism."

The major media focus of issues and subjects critical in tone toward the Soviet military establishment did not change significantly from the previous month. It was again emphasized that: (1) military/political training must improve--political officers must influence all activities; (2) new technology should be emphasized in tactical field training; (3) teamwork and unit team spirit are important for morale and need improvement; (4) the Soviet military must be taught to maintain World War II heroic traditions; and (5) a determined effort should be made to conserve fuel and energy (in the Soviet military).

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## INTRODUCTION

The data in this report reflects Soviet print media emphasis and propaganda trends for over 2 years -- July 1979 to September 1981. During this period, more than 29,000 feature stories and news items were analyzed. The main purpose of this paper is to provide the reader with an overview of Soviet rhetoric and propaganda themes directed to Russian military forces during September 1981.

This report contains a summary of the propaganda themes from the Russian language newspaper Red Star. With a circulation of several hundred thousand copies, this "daily" newspaper is the official publication of the Soviet defense establishment. In particular, it represents the views and articulates the issues important to the Main Political Administration of the Soviet Army and Navy, which is responsible for the political reliability of all Soviet military forces. The Main Political Administration receives its guidance directly from the Central Committee of the CPSU.

The feature stories and news items that appear in Red Star are intended to provide daily guidance to the Soviet military political cadre concerning domestic and international issues/events. Men and women in the Soviet armed forces receive political instruction and Marxist interpretation of current events (foreign and domestic) on a daily basis. Red Star is used as the guide for political instruction; it contains the approved "picture" of issues and events, and outlines the nature of the "hostile" world to the Soviet military. Therefore, this report provides insights concerning the structured view of the events and the "world picture" as perceived by the Soviet soldier.

## PART I - SOVIET PERCEPTIONS OF INTERNATIONAL EVENTS

In September 1981, approximately 27 percent of the total space in Red Star reported events and activities that occurred in foreign countries or were international in scope. This amount of space reflected a decrease of seven percent from the previous month; this, however, represents the normal range for space allocated to foreign coverage for the mid-summer season.

Selected foreign governments and international organizations that received substantial media attention in September 1981 are listed in Table 1. (Percent reflects total of foreign coverage.)

Table 1

<u>Government/Int. Organization</u>	<u>September 1981</u>	<u>August 1981</u>	<u>June 79 - July 81</u>
1. United States .....	29.21%	30.11%	28.10%
2. Poland .....	6.81%	3.56%	3.50%
3. Western Europe/NATO .....	6.20%	2.93%	3.21%
4. Vietnam .....	5.87%	0.30%	2.39%
5. Bulgaria .....	3.90%	2.02%	1.23%
6. China .....	3.44%	1.75%	3.72%
7. South Africa .....	3.31%	2.49%	1.03%
8. Finland .....	2.46%	0.07%	0.38%
9. Japan .....	2.31%	2.49%	2.21%
10. Afghanistan .....	1.78%	3.16%	4.22%
11. Laos .....	1.71%	0.11%	0.30%
12. United Kingdom .....	1.28%	1.18%	1.75%
13. Pakistan .....	1.24%	0.55%	0.82%
14. Cuba .....	1.23%	0.65%	1.51%

GENERAL

As a matter of policy, the editors of Red Star underscore selected national anniversaries, significant events (in socialist countries), and "friendship visits" of foreign and Soviet delegations.

In September 1981, Red Star highlighted the celebration of the 36th anniversary of Vietnamese independence. Moscow emphasized that the people of Vietnam have survived French, American and Chinese invaders, and Vietnam has become a most successful socialist country. In one long feature story, the Kremlin underscored that

"(the) current U.S. foreign policy is similar to that which brought the United States into the Vietnam war. Although Washington calls it battling international terrorism, the U.S. foreign policy is characterized by the same provocative dependence on force, and provocative incidents such as attacking Libyan planes. Vietnam veterans still suffer depression and ill effects of the dirty war in Vietnam. The U.S. government is trying to brainwash its citizens about the nature of the war in Vietnam, trying to justify it and focus on the heroism of Vietnam veterans."

The editors of Red Star highlighted the "warm and friendly" visit that the first Secretary of the Vietnamese Communist Party had with Brezhnev. During the official state dinner, Soviet-Vietnamese friendship was emphasized and Sino-American militarism in Southeast Asia was severely criticized. Based on the "friendship visit" of the Vietnamese delegation, the propagandists in the

Kremlin emphasized that "these talks demonstrate that Brezhnev is intent on establishing peace and stability all over the world."

Media coverage of Bulgaria increased dramatically because of the following events which were celebrated during September: (1) the 37th anniversary of the Socialist Revolution, and (2) Bulgarian Army Day. A series of feature articles in Red Star described the role of the Bulgarian Army in building socialism, and the "great role" of the USSR in guiding Bulgaria on the path of socialism. Moscow also stressed that the "Bulgarian people will never forget Soviet heroism in World War II."

The major event (in September 1981) that accounted for the expanded coverage allocated to Finland was the friendship visit of Chief of the Finnish Armed Forces (General Sutel) to Moscow. He and his party were given full honors. The Finnish General discussed subjects of mutual interest with high ranking Soviet military officials.

The very significant increase in Red Star's coverage of Laos (see Table 1) was due to the friendship visit of Premier Kaysone Phomvihane to Moscow. The Laotian Premier visited Brezhnev in the Kremlin, where they discussed the political and economic problems in Southeast Asia. He thanked Brezhnev for Soviet assistance and praised Soviet-Laotian relations. Brezhnev awarded the Laotian leader the Order of Lenin.

#### UNITED STATES

In September 1981, the editors of Red Star allocated over 29 percent of the coverage of international activities and foreign affairs to the United States. During a 27 month period (see Table 1), the average allocation of print space devoted to the U.S. has been 28.1 percent of the total coverage in Red Star for all foreign states.

In September 1981, Soviet rhetoric and media highlighted the propaganda themes that the "Reagan administration is pushing the world into war" and the "reason for U.S. military expansion is to obtain world supremacy." The scope and tone of Soviet propaganda was insidious and inflammatory with respect to the foreign policy of the Reagan administration. Moscow underscored and headlined the following topics: (1) the neutron threat to Europe - neutron weapons indicate that Washington remains on the course of militarism and desires to accelerate the arms race; (2) Western Europe is the Pentagon's hostage - U.S. will deploy 600 new (Pershing II) missiles to NATO; therefore, Europe might be used as a step in increasing U.S. aggression against the USSR; (3) United States continues to increase its military build-up in the Middle East/Persian Gulf area; and (4) the people of Western Europe (and all over the world) strongly oppose the deployment of U.S. nuclear missiles to Europe.

Soviet propagandists have consistently underscored that the U.S. military is developing a vast arsenal of new chemical and bacteriological weapons. In September 1981, Moscow accelerated its campaign that Washington intends to use

chemical and biological warfare in future military operations. Throughout the month, a series of feature articles (in Red Star) headlined and emphasized that:

"U.S. scientists conduct top secret experiments at a biological warfare laboratory in Oakland, California. They are developing agents such as Valley Fever which particularly inflicts harm on blacks and Asians. It would be used in Africa and Asia."

"In researching and developing chemical and bacteriological warfare weapons, tests are being conducted on ordinary citizens. Many people die as a result of the Pentagon's experiments. The American Legionnaire disease was a Pentagon test. Prisoners of Holmsberg in Philadelphia were used in testing one of the components of Agent Orange. In spite of protests, the Pentagon continues such dangerous experiments."

"The U.S. Government plans to increase its chemical warfare budget. A vast number of new chemical weapons are being developed. Chemical arsenals in Edgewood, Maryland and elsewhere are being enlarged and modernized."

"In 1983 a facility in Pine Bluff will start manufacturing weapons with nerve gas, GB. The factory will also produce chemical bombs for artillery with BX gas. Over \$3.2 million will be spent on this project. The U.S. military currently stores chemical weapons and conducts chemical warfare training in Western Germany."

"U.S. Army stores chemical weapons in Western Germany. Over 2,000 tons of nerve gas are stored near the town of Pirmazens. Other storage sites are located near Hannau and Manheim. The U.S. plans to increase its storage of chemical weapons in Germany."

As mentioned before, Red Star's news items and feature stories are carefully selected to satisfy the propaganda goals and objectives of the Communist party and government; consequently, they reflect highly negative views of policies and activities of the United States. For over two years, the United States has received an average of 56 percent of the total negative and/or abusive rhetoric in Red Star devoted to foreign governments - in September it was 55.5 percent. See Table 2 for a comparison of total space (hostile and/or negative in tone) allocated to the United States and other selected countries. (Percent reflects total of foreign critical coverage.)

Table 2

<u>COUNTRY</u>	<u>September 1981</u>	<u>August 1981</u>	<u>June 79 - July 81</u>
1. United States .....	55.50%	61.96%	55.83%
2. Poland .....	14.23%	2.94%	0.71%
3. China .....	6.92%	3.74%	7.85%
4. South Africa .....	6.75%	5.34%	2.20%
5. Pakistan .....	2.56%	0.74%	1.59%
6. Isreal .....	2.37%	5.63%	4.72%
7. Japan .....	2.32%	4.12%	3.88%
8. Egypt .....	2.16%	1.75%	1.69%
9. NATO .....	1.95%	2.20%	2.62%
10. United Kingdom .....	1.77%	2.02%	3.09%

As in previous months, over 96 percent of the total space allocated to the United States was highly critical and/or negative in tone.

Soviet propaganda about the United States continued to underscore three substantive themes: (1) United States military and political hegemony - as a threat to the third world; (2) arms production and development of military technology - the arms race; and (3) U.S. foreign military assistance and mutual security programs - as a threat to world peace. Generally, the propaganda tone and amount of space allocated to these three primary Soviet propaganda themes have remained uncompromisingly high and consistent for over two years.

A statistical view of major Soviet propaganda themes pertaining to the United States for a period of 14 months is contained in Table 3 (percent is total of United States coverage).

Table 3

SOVIET PROPAGANDA THEME	1981												1980			
	SEP	AUG	JUL	JUN	MAY	APR	MAR	FEB	JAN	DEC	NOV	OCT	SEP	AUG		
US Military/ Political Hegemony .....	55%	29%	45%	30%	35%	41%	43%	48%	40%	36%	32%	44%	38%	50%		
US Military Budget-Arms Race .....	26%	48%	32%	45%	34%	30%	26%	31%	33%	33%	33%	25%	37%	27%		
US Foreign Military Assistance- Mutual Secy .....	14%	19%	20%	21%	25%	17%	28%	15%	19%	20%	20%	23%	19%	15%		
All Other .....	05%	04%	03%	04%	06%	12%	03%	06%	08%	11%	15%	08%	06%	08%		
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	00%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%		

Soviet propagandists use every advantage to exploit events and/or media issues in the international press in its effort to portray the United States as an aggressive, militaristic nation seeking world domination, and on the verge of triggering a nuclear holocaust. This is the major focus and objective of Soviet domestic and international propaganda. It is apparent from the data in Table 3 that the principal themes used to exploit and articulate this objective are U.S. military and political hegemony and the arms race.

#### UNITED STATES MILITARY/POLITICAL HEGEMONY

During September 1981, the editors of Red Star elected to increase by 26 percent the amount of space allocated to stress the propaganda theme U.S. military/political hegemony (the Soviet code word for American imperialism). Topics and events exploited in regard to this unending theme focused on:

- Deployment of ground-launched cruise missiles and Pershing II ballistic missiles as a direct threat to the USSR;
- Production of neutron weapons;
- The plan of the Reagan administration to increase the size of the U.S. Navy (in order to obtain world supremacy); and
- People of Western Europe oppose deployment of U.S. nuclear missiles to Europe - they oppose Reagan's policy of war.

The Soviet continued to exploit the activities of the CIA. Moscow claimed that the Indian police uncovered a CIA plot to kill Indira Gandhi. The plot, according to the Soviet press, "was created by a terrorist organization which is known to have ties with the U.S. CIA." Articles in Red Star pertaining to the CIA stressed:

"In spite of good American-British relations, U.S. spies operate in Britain. American companies and the USIA are covers for CIA agents who spy on British leaders, business men and reporters. They (CIA agents) conduct public opinion surveys in regard to the neutron bomb, nuclear weapons in Britain and reaction to the growing U.S. military presence in Great Britain."

"In case of war in Europe, the U.S. CIA has a plan in regard to an attack on Austria. A map coded 77706/10-70 shows points for diversionist activity and nuclear targets in case of such a war." (Source Volkstimme)

"A book published in Italy denounces CIA activities. CIA agents were required from 1976-1981 to obtain economic and military information about all Western European countries. This book describes Secret Document A-895 (from the State Department) which was sent to U.S. embassy personnel in Western Europe requesting them to obtain such information."

Soviet propagandists exhibited a marked interest in underscoring the expansion of the U.S. Navy. In September the Kremlin published a series of articles under the banner of "U.S. Navy - Weapons of Expansion, Aggression and Violence." Particular attention was given to aircraft carriers as being symbolic of U.S. aggression and imperialism. The Soviets reported that:

"The U.S. plans to build more Nimitz class carriers; this is a very expensive plan. The Pentagon considers aircraft carriers as an important part of its naval strategy. Early experiments with the Enterprise made the U.S. favor atomic-powered carriers. Vinson wants to add two more carriers to the U.S. Navy. Each carrier has a displacement of 100,000 tons and carries over 100 aircraft."

"The U.S. Navy used 11 aircraft carriers in the Korean war and 15 during the Vietnam war. Recently Washington used a carrier task force in a show of force off the coast of Libya. Carriers play an important part in Reagan's new global strategy. They will play an important part in U.S. ability to wage more than one war in different parts of the world."

"Disadvantages of U.S. aircraft carriers include poor construction and short military life. Carriers are not built to withstand attack. The U.S. Navy has 13 carriers with 1,100 planes and 90 helicopters. The aircraft carrier is the cornerstone of U.S. Naval strategy and supremacy. Planes on carriers are armed with atomic weapons, they can attack targets to a range of 1,000 KM. They can attack both surface and underwater targets. U.S. conducts carrier diplomacy."

The statistical data contained in Table 4 below reflects geographical and country emphasis pertaining to the Soviet propaganda theme -- U.S. Military/Political Hegemony and Provocation during an eight (8) month period. (Percent equals total coverage of this propaganda theme.)

Table 4

<u>Country/Area of U.S. Hegemony</u>	<u>Sep 81</u>	<u>Aug 81</u>	<u>Jul 81</u>	<u>Jun 81</u>	<u>May 81</u>	<u>Apr 81</u>	<u>Mar 81</u>	<u>Feb 81</u>
1. Europe .....	42%	27%	19%	07%	25%	23%	18%	22%
2. Asia/Pacific .....	22%	06%	18%	32%	07%	07%	02%	03%
3. Indian Ocean and Middle East .....	19%	25%	31%	25%	32%	31%	23%	10%
4. World Wide .....	10%	13%	21%	12%	27%	08%	30%	42%
5. Latin America .....	05%	29%	11%	22%	05%	24%	24%	08%
6. Africa .....	02%	00%	00%	02%	04%	07%	03%	15%
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Soviet propagandists assiduously attempted to drive a wedge between the United States and its allies. As noted previously, the Kremlin underscored that since the Reagan administration decided to produce neutron weapons, the allies (of the U.S.) have realized that Washington is more intent on militarism than on disarmament or peace or detente. According to Moscow "nuclear war becomes more imminent and so does the destruction of Europe." A large number of feature stories in Red Star emphasized that the "European leaders are becoming less supportive of U.S. militarism - they have too much to lose." The nations of Europe, according to Moscow, want the United States to renew the disarmament talks and forget about turning Europe into a giant nuclear war zone." It was evident that (in September 1981) a major objective of Soviet propaganda strategy was to exacerbate the basic fear of a nuclear war in Western Europe. On the other hand, Soviet propaganda regularly and unequivocally affirmed that the USSR is ready to discuss peace and disarmament at any time.

One feature story in Red Star was headlined "U.S. IS SUFFOCATING ITS PARTNERS!" The article stressed that:

"There is a large rift between the U.S. and NATO allies. The Reagan administration wants military supremacy, whereas the NATO allies want detente. In the 1970s detente was very profitable for both Europe and the socialist block. At the summit meeting in Ottawa, Washington demanded that Europe decrease its trade with the Soviet Union. The U.S. continues to insist on taking a very harsh position toward the USSR. The United States wants to destroy the balance between NATO and the Warsaw Pact by deploying Pershing II and Tomahawk cruise missiles in Europe."

A series of Russian propaganda articles were designed to underscore that the "foreign policy of the Reagan administration is similar to that which brought the United States into the war in Vietnam." The Kremlin noted that the Reagan administration claims that its foreign policy intends to battle international terrorism; yet, it is characterized by "provocative dependence on military power and provocative incidents such as attacks on Libyan aircraft."

Selected abstracts of Soviet rhetoric that articulated Soviet sensitivity toward neutron weapons and the deployment of Pershing II and cruise missiles to Western Europe are listed below. They indicate the scale, intensity, and degree of hostility toward the policies of the Reagan administration.

"NEUTRON THREAT TO EUROPE! Reagan's decision that the U.S. will begin mass-production of the neutron bomb indicates that Washington remains on a course of militarism and acceleration of the arms race. The neutron bomb is effective against tank attack, but Washington is naive to think that Soviet tanks might appear on the banks of the Potomac River. It is more likely that the U.S. will deploy neutron bombs in Europe. U.S. military officials have already discussed this with their allies. In fact, Great Britain may allow neutron bombs on its territory."

"WEST GERMAN GOVERNMENT CONSIDERING DEPLOYMENT OF U.S. NEUTRON BOMBS! The U.S. says that only a few hours is needed to deploy these bombs in Europe, U.S. also claims that the neutron bomb is purely a defensive weapon, but the large-scale production of the bomb is related greatly to U.S. expansionism and aggression. There is not one reason why it could not be used as an attack weapon. As far as the USSR is concerned, military supremacy is not the solution to world tension, only disarmament can help. However, USSR will never be brought to its knees."

"WESTERN EUROPE IS PENTAGON'S HOSTAGE! U.S. plan to deploy 600 new nuclear missiles in Western Europe is turning Europe into a hostage of the U.S. For many years there has been a nuclear balance between the USSR and the U.S. Now Washington wants military supremacy, and will sacrifice European stability to get it. New missiles in Europe will decrease the strength of the return strike against the United States. It is easier to strike at the USSR from Europe than across the ocean. Thus Europe might be used as a step in increasing U.S. aggression against the USSR, not as a point to be defended."

"TURNING EUROPE INTO NON-NUCLEAR ZONE! U.S. pressure to activate NATO in North Europe has increased tension. Washington recently made an agreement with Norway for the use of airport facilities by U.S. bombers - armed with nuclear weapons. Missiles that would be used against the USSR would fly through Norwegian air space. The people of North Europe are more interested in making the area into a non-nuclear zone, which was first suggested by the USSR."

"The people of Western Europe oppose deployment of U.S. nuclear missiles in Europe. Demonstrations throughout Europe indicate that the people are against the dangerous plans of imperialism and reaction."

"More and more groups and organizations in Western Europe oppose deployment of U.S. nuclear missiles to Europe. The people of Europe favor disarmament and detente."

Soviet rhetoric also assailed the deployment of U.S. nuclear weapons and nuclear activities in Asia. Moscow reported that the U.S. Air Force has nuclear weapons on its aircraft in South Korea. The Soviets also claimed that the U.S. military have nuclear mines at the Hanoko Base in Okinawa, Japan. Another Red Star article reported that "over 2,000 islands in the Pacific Ocean have been contaminated by radiation from numerous A-bomb tests conducted by the U.S. in that area." In addition, Moscow published a feature article with the ominous headline "EVIL PLANS OF THE PENTAGON". In this article, Soviet propagandists emphasized that "Washington plans to deploy medium-range nuclear missiles to Japan. Reagan thinks it is time for Japan to be cured of its allergy to the A-bomb." It was also stressed that Washington plans to turn Japan into another buffer zone, in case of nuclear war.

Selected abstracts of additional Soviet rhetoric that articulated Russian propaganda about U.S. military hegemony and its "strategy of military adventures and aggression" are listed below:

"U.S. ADMINISTRATION IS PUSHING WORLD TOWARD WAR! India is disturbed by U.S. military build-up in the Indian Ocean and the resulting increased tension."

"JORDAN NEWSPAPERS CONDEMN U.S. PRO-ISREAL POLICY! Jordan supports Arab peoples and condemns U.S. aggression against Libya and U.S. aggression in the Middle East."

"The Reagan administration has developed contingency plans for the military occupation of Saudi Arabia in the event of internal disorder or an emergency."

"PLO and other participants hold conference on U.S. military presence in the Middle East and U.S. support of Israeli aggression. The conference called for the Arab nations to unite against the United States, Israel, and Egypt."

"Washington is increasing its military build-up in the Middle East and strengthening its military alliance with Egypt, Israel, Saudi Arabia. U.S. has its own interests in mind. It plans to build military bases in Israel for Rapid Deployment Forces. The U.S. Navy will be allowed to use Israel ports for the ships of the 6th Fleet."

"U.S. 6th Fleet conducts extensive exercises in the Mediterranean."

"The Nicaraguan Minister of Internal Affairs criticizes the U.S. attempt to intervene in the internal politics of Nicaragua. The U.S. plans to build a naval base on Fonsek Peninsula - this poses a threat to Nicaragua."

"U.S. IS INCREASING MILITARY PRESENCE IN CARIBBEAN AND CENTRAL AMERICA! Washington will increase military aid in support of friendly dictatorships. The U.S. is intervening in this region in order to prevent liberation movements from gaining ground. U.S. business monopolies will make more profits as a result of U.S. economic aid programs."

"U.S. plans to enlarge its navy and increase U.S. Navy deployments to regions of vital interest. The Reagan administration is justifying this policy with the need to defend sea navigability, especially in the Caribbean and Atlantic Ocean."

"U.S. Navy and Honduras conduct joint training in the Caribbean. Hydroplanes, patrol ships and spy planes are included in Eagle Vista training."

### THE ARMS RACE

During September 1981, the amount of space in Red Star allocated to the arms race decreased by 22 percent from the previous month (see Table 3). However, the scope and tone of Soviet rhetoric in regard to U.S. weapons production was dogmatic and unequivocal. Moscow insists that the United States and NATO are intent on obtaining military supremacy, whereas the Soviet Union is the champion of disarmament and detente. As noted above, a major focus of Soviet propaganda was that the Reagan administration favors nuclear war in Europe, and that President Reagan believes he can win a nuclear world war. This, according to the Kremlin, is "a stark contrast from the strong support of the socialist block for disarmament and detente. USSR continues to insist on and fight for the end of the arms race, and the formation of non-nuclear zones in the world." Communist propaganda articulated emphatically that:

"(the) influence of socialist block and USSR grows every year as the world realizes the importance of peace. Since the 1970s, the Soviet Union has worked steadily for the success of disarmament. At the present time Moscow has made numerous suggestions in regard to a moratorium on the deployment of medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe - all to no avail. The Reagan administration and NATO are intent upon military supremacy."

Some abstracts of Red Star feature stories that expressed the focus, tone and mood of Soviet rhetoric about the U.S. military budget, weapons development programs, and the arms race are listed below:

"U.S. plans to spend \$1.5 trillion, an unprecedented sum on military budget in the next five years. Defense firms will make huge profits on government defense contracts."

"The U.S. Air Force will build the C-X giant military transport plane. It will carry rapid deployment units and arms to hot spots around the world."

"in a speech to the American Legion in Honolulu, Secretary of Defense Weinberger supports Reagan's military programs. He insists that the U.S. must have a global strategy. He supported plans to manufacture new nuclear weapons, neutron bombs and other new weapons systems."

"Washington is initiating new military programs based on what it claims are its vital interests. These programs include accelerating the arms race, causing conflicts all over the world, and producing the neutron bomb. European allies are upset about neutron bomb production."

"Demonstrations are being held all over the world to protest U.S. militarism, the arms race, and to support disarmament."

"Newspapers, famous people, and governments worldwide criticize the growing militarism policy of the Reagan administration and the acceleration of the arms race."

"The first group of new nuclear arms are deployed on B-52s at Griffith Air Force Base in New York. Tomahawk cruise missile systems will be developed in 1982."

"According to CBS, Defense Secretary Weinberger sent President Reagan a strategic plan which provides for operating new strategic arms (systems) by the end of 1981. Weinberger wants to put 1000 MX ICBMs in silos which would be built in Nevada. Weinberger also wants to begin production of the B-1 bomber and the stealth aircraft. This is only a small part of a master plan to put the U.S. military in the number one position in the world."

"U.S. government is trying to brainwash its citizens that the Vietnam War was necessary. This is so it can prepare for another such war without protest from its citizens."

"Pentagon awards contract for building ninth Trident submarine to the Electric Boat Company."

Soviet propaganda continued to underscore that the "U.S. SPREADS ARMS RACE INTO SPACE!" A feature story in Red Star explained that "since 1978 TRW has been testing laser weapons for space war. Other companies that test laser weapon systems for the Pentagon are Rockwell International, Lockheed and Hughes Aircraft. The code name for this program is "TRIAD". According to the Soviets, the U.S. plans to build 24 military space stations at a distance of 1,300 kilometers from the earth."

#### FOREIGN MILITARY ASSISTANCE AND MUTUAL SECURITY

In September 1981, Soviet propagandists put somewhat less stress on reporting and exploiting United States foreign military assistance and mutual security programs. The amount of space allocated to this subject/theme was 14 percent of total U.S. space (see Table 3).

The geographical/country emphasis given to this theme by Moscow for the months of May through September 1981, as compared with an average for February through July 1980 is reflected in the data contained in Table 5.

Table 5

<u>Country or Area Given Military Assistance or Mutual Security</u>	<u>Sep 1981*</u>	<u>Aug 1981*</u>	<u>July 1981*</u>	<u>June 1981*</u>	<u>May 1981*</u>	<u>Average for Feb. 1980 - July 1980*</u>
1. Middle East .....	42%	28%	24%	28%	36%	20%
2. Europe/NATO .....	21%	11%	04%	08%	04%	24%
3. China .....	18%	04%	30%	31%	00%	24%
4. Asia/Pacific .....	11%	31%	26%	24%	24%	18%
5. Africa .....	08%	19%	09%	02%	19%	07%
6. Latin America .....	00%	07%	07%	07%	17%	07%
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%*	100%

[\*Percent is total coverage of space for theme.]

The emphasis and focus given by Kremlin propagandists to United States Foreign Military Assistance and Mutual Security programs is primarily based on events and foreign policy issues. During September 1981, Russian propagandists continued to react harshly and assail U.S. military assistance to Israel and Egypt. Specifically, the editors of Red Star underscored that:

"Recent American-Israeli talks in Washington indicate that an anti-Arab plot is in the making. Washington and Israel agreed to increase military cooperation. The U.S. Navy will use Israeli ports for its 6th Fleet. The U.S. Air Force will be permitted to use two large Israeli airfields."

"U.S. is increasing military build-up in Middle East. U.S. plans to increase military aid to Egypt to average \$1.5 billion per year. F-16 fighters will be included in the military aid package."

"Israel's capacity to produce modern weapons is increasing due to aid of Western countries. Israel is producing F-16 fighters."

"U.S. and Israel strengthen their military alliance."

Soviet propagandists eagerly exploited all aspects of U.S. relations with the government of South Africa. One long feature story headlined that:

"U.S. AND ALLIES CONTINUE TO VIOLATE U N EMBARGO ON SALE OF WEAPONS TO SOUTH AFRICA! Only a few weeks after the establishment of the United Nations embargo on South Africa, the U.S. decided to sell 50,000 155 mm artillery shells to Pretoria. The U.S. is providing South Africa

with the technology for nuclear arms production. Other NATO countries have supplied South Africa with trucks and military weapons."

The Kremlin underscored that U.S. military assistance to Pakistan can only lead to greater world tension and threatens all of Asia. Articles in regard to Pakistan reported that:

"The Reagan administration is increasing its military and economic aid to Pakistan. The Assistant Secretary of State plans to visit President Zia in order to coordinate the military aid program. Washington will send \$3 billion of military aid to Pakistan over the next five years. This alliance endangers the security of the entire region."

"DANGEROUS DEAL! Pakistan accepts conditions of U.S. military aid package. This aid will destroy the balance in the region and increase tension in the entire Asian area. The military aid package includes delivery of F-16s as well as large amounts of arms. Surely Pakistan cannot use all these weapons for defense."

Soviet propagandists continued to zealously exploit all aspects of U.S. relations with China. During September, Moscow emphasized that:

"U.S. IS STRENGTHENING MILITARY ALLIANCE WITH CHINA! Since China does not have the money to pay for military equipment, it depends on U.S. military aid. In return, China will support Reagan's military strategy worldwide - especially its anti-Soviet strategy. Both countries secretly wish that the other would go to war with the USSR. In addition, with U.S. support China may expand into Southeast Asia and ASEAN countries. Washington and China are expanding their joint military activities and cooperation. ASEAN is reluctant to become a new military block, but they are being pressured by the U.S. and China."

"U.S. AND CHINA ARE INCREASING MILITARY ACTIVITIES IN ASIA! Their increased military presence in the Indian Ocean disturbs India. Military cooperation between the U.S. and China disturbs all of Asia."

"U.S. gives China a list of arms it is willing to sell to Peking."

The following are additional selected abstracts of propaganda articles from the September issues of Red Star about United States military assistance and mutual security programs.

"NATO IS ATTEMPTING TO DRAG SPAIN INTO ALLIANCE! U.S. believes that Spain would strengthen the Southern NATO Region and would increase U.S. influence in the Mediterranean. U.S. uses military bases in Spain and has influenced Spain to conduct maneuvers with NATO forces. NATO has always supported dictatorships."

"The British government gives the U.S. permission to enlarge its Air Force base in upper Hayfor. The U.S. will deploy another squadron of 20 aircraft to England."

"Six hundred Japanese military personnel will go to the U.S. to participate in a 2-month training school with American missile units."

"Washington is strengthening its military alliance with Japan. In turn, Japan will strengthen ties with NATO and will increase strength of self-defense forces. Japanese ships will cruise the Northwest Pacific to 1,700 km from Japan."

"Somalia will permit the U.S. to build four airports on its territory and a naval base in Berbera."

"Ports on the West Coast of Australia are being used by U.S. Navy ships that are on patrol in the Indian Ocean."

"Washington is arming Saudi Arabia. It will sell AWACS planes, 600 missiles, tanks, artillery and ammunition to Saudi Arabia."

"U.S. is trying to set conditions for sale of AWACS planes to Saudi Arabia."

"Washington plans to increase military aid to ASEAN countries. U.S. hopes to turn ASEAN into military block."

#### OTHER THEMES

Generally the Soviet press tends to report only those non-military events and activities about the United States that reflect tragic or bad news, or are inflammatory in tone toward the government and its institutions. During the past two years an average of 8 percent of the space in Red Star was allocated to "other themes"; in July it was only 5 percent.

The editors of Red Star consistently publicize U.S. military disasters and tragic events. During September the following mishaps and accidents were featured in the Soviet military press:

"Twenty U.S. military personnel were injured by a bomb explosion at the Ramstein Air Force Base in West Germany."

"Two planes crashed on the aircraft carrier Kitty Hawk during exercises in the Indian Ocean. One person was killed and two wounded."

"A U.S. Navy helicopter crashed - 5 men were killed."

"A vehicle carrying General Krezen, Commander of U.S. Seventh Army, was attacked in Heidelberg, Germany. The General was slightly wounded."

"Six died when a U.S. Navy helicopter crashed near Mallorca."

"A fire on a U.S. Air Force truck carrying three tons of cluster bombs in Wilshire, England caused the area to be evacuated."

Abstracts of several other Red Star feature stories and news items that expressed the tone and scope of "other theme" articles are contained below:

"Reagan administration increases repressive measures against striking air traffic controllers."

"Police in Philadelphia brutally repress teachers on strike."

"Baltimore police arrest man suspected of planning to kill President Reagan. Since assassination attempt, 160 have been arrested for planning to assassinate Reagan."

"Over 500,000 demonstrate in Washington, D.C. against Reagan policies. Newspapers in the U.S. and Europe insist that Reagan's internal and militaristic foreign policy are opposed by the majority of American people. Reagan is ignoring social and economic problems."

"The U.S. national debt will be over \$3 trillion this year."

"Zionist terrorist band placed two incendiary bombs under the car of Soviet diplomats in New York. Fortunately the bombs were detected and disarmed. U.S. Government should

do more to prevent such incidents, but U.S. Government supports such actions."

"Terrorists bomb Four Continents Book Store in New York. The book store was bombed because it contains Soviet books. Zionist group was responsible for the bombing. Local authorities are not doing anything to capture and punish these bandits."

#### POLAND

Red Star's coverage of political/economic events in Poland increased notably in September 1981 (over 3 percent higher than the previous month and the 26-month average - See Table 1). Moscow's concern over events in Poland was very evident, the tone and focus of Soviet propaganda was directed toward reporting, in considerable detail, the anti-socialist activities of the Solidarity movement, and especially the September conference in Gdansk.

Moscow's rhetoric was inflammatory and assiduously harsh in regard to the anti-Soviet and anti-socialist elements of Solidarity. Over 97 percent of the total space allocated to Poland by the editors of Red Star, reported the "radical and dangerous" turn of events in Poland. Moscow's extreme displeasure with the political/economic situation in Poland was clearly indicated by the very harsh and bombastic language used in reporting the activities of Solidarity. For example, the Kremlin underscored that:

- Solidarity is not willing to cooperate with the Polish Communist Party - crisis will become worse;
- Solidarity is spreading counterrevolution, chaos and anarchy;
- Solidarity is becoming a socio-political organization, not a labor union;
- Solidarity is encouraging confrontation with the government;
- Solidarity wants to seize power from the Polish government;
- Solidarity is conducting a large-scale anti-Soviet campaign;
- Solidarity continues to undermine the Government;
- Radical groups in Solidarity continue their attempt to seize power from the Government;
- Solidarity is trying to change the economic and social structure in Poland; and
- Solidarity is trying to export counterrevolution.

Events in Poland were reported by Red Star on an almost daily basis in a feature column which was headlined "UPDATE FROM POLAND."

Selected abstracts of the content of Red Star articles with respect to Poland are listed below:

"Radical groups of Solidarity increase their attacks on the Polish government and United Workers' Party. Radical leadership claims that the Government will fall. They are spreading counterrevolution, chaos and anarchy."

"The Solidarity meeting in Gdansk shows that it is increasingly anti-socialist and anti-Soviet. The Committee for Independent Poland is getting a lot of support from Solidarity. The Polish government is criticized and Solidarity is not willing to cooperate with the Communist Party. Crisis in Poland will become worse due to Solidarity's undermining activities."

"Solidarity begins conference in Gdansk. Members of Confederation for Independent Poland try to turn conference into a political meeting, rather than a labor-oriented meeting. They attack the Polish government and socialist structure - increasing demands on the government. One wonders who they represent?"

"Solidarity is becoming a socio-political organization, not a labor union. Attacks on the Polish government and appeal to the people of other socialist countries are evidence of Solidarity's irresponsibility."

"Gdansk Solidarity meeting goes into second stage. Radical Solidarity members continue destructive anti-socialist, anti-Soviet campaign. They are encouraging more strikes, passing out anti-government leaflets. Solidarity is encouraging confrontation with the government. Their demands are both unrealistic and insulting. Solidarity is not acting like a labor union, but a political group."

"Press-conference sponsored by the leaders of Construction Union of Poland. Many letters from Polish and Soviet workers show that the anti-socialist movement is not supported by Soviet or Polish workers, but by radicals from Solidarity. The Polish workers will not tolerate the end of socialism in Poland. They value their socialist allies and support which they have received since 1945."

"Solidarity has broken its agreement and has become politically oriented - not labor oriented. Anti-Sovietism

and anti-socialism characterize Solidarity's actions. Gdansk meeting indicates that Solidarity wants to seize political power. Politburo calls for unity and support of people. Solidarity must cease undermining government."

"Solidarity continues to prevent Polish government from solving economic problems. It disregards agreements and makes new demands on the government. Solidarity is conducting a large-scale anti-Soviet campaign, encouraging counterrevolution both within Poland and without. Polish government is determined to preserve socialism."

"Solidarity continues to undermine government and economy. Party members all over Poland protest Solidarity's actions. Polish people must not lose sight of common goals. Solidarity continues its anti-socialist propaganda program on very large-scale. Solidarity is gradually seizing power - counterrevolution must be stopped."

"Radical groups in Solidarity continue to attempt to seize power from the government and undermine the socialist structure. They are using the Gdansk meeting to spread counterrevolutionary propaganda. Anti-Soviet and anti-communist leaflets are being published and distributed throughout the country. They are attempting to export revolution to the Ukraine and Byelorussia. Many people in Poland are worried about the delicate situation. The government may use any method to restore order."

"Solidarity is trying to change the economic and socialist structure of Poland. It wants to export workers' self-government movement and workers' independence from government. The Gdansk meeting supports the end of socialist structure in Poland."

"Solidarity's appeal to the people of East Europe is rude and unpermissible intervention in the socialist structure of East Europe. Solidarity is trying to spread anti-socialist fever beyond the borders of Poland - to export counterrevolution."

"PLOT AGAINST POLAND! The U.S. and western countries activate propaganda machine against Poland. These countries express support for Solidarity, spread anti-socialist propaganda. The Voice of America and Radio Liberty support the export of revolution and try to influence Polish workers. AFL-CIO has sent money and support to Solidarity. The radicals of Solidarity are receiving the most support because they are trying to undermine the basic socialist structure."

CHINA

In September 1981, the amount of Red Star space allocated to China increased by almost two percent (see Table 1). The major thrust of Soviet rhetoric underscored Peking's policy of expansion and hegemony in Asia. Particular propaganda emphasis was placed on Chinese military and paramilitary aggression toward India and Vietnam. Other propaganda themes stressed by Moscow included: (1) the Sino-American military alliance; (2) the "evil triangle" between China-Japan-United States; and (3) China continues to send military aid to Pakistan. The overall tone and scope of Soviet rhetoric in regard to China underscored that:

"NORMALIZATION ALA PEKING! In spite of the assurances of Chinese leaders in regard to friendly relations with the countries of South and Southeast Asia, Peking's actions are not consistent with its word. Chinese policy of expansion and hegemony has not changed. An outstanding example is Peking's policy toward India. China continues to train and aid separists in Northeastern India. China hopes to establish a puppet government in Northeast India."

"Pro-Chinese separatist bomb an electric power plant in Manipur, India."

"China has claimed, for a long time, parts of India; consequently, India is suspicious of the Chinese offer to establish friendly relations. China has increased its military cooperation with Pakistan, has aided counterrevolutionaries in Afghanistan, and continues to build its military forces and arsenals near India. China's support of U.S. and Pakistani policies in Asia is not friendly, but a continuation of the traditional Chinese hegemony and expansion in Asia."

"China continues its aggression towards Vietnam."

"China threatens Northern Islands of Indonesia in South China Sea. China claims this territory and may invade."

"Indonesian government is worried about reopening diplomatic relations with China. Peking supports anti-government groups throughout Southeast Asia."

"The United States and China plot to make the Pol-Pot group more respectable to the United Nations. U.S. allies claim that the Pol-Pot group is too blood thirsty. Uniting Pol-Pot supporters with Prince Sihanouk will make them more acceptable. Good Luck!"

"China refuses to continue talks with Vietnam. Peking renews its propaganda attacks against Vietnam. China is not interested in peaceful relations with its neighbors."

"China provides Pakistan with more military aircraft. Militarism of Pakistan disturbs the Indian government."

"Pakistani nuclear arms specialists are in China preparing for the first nuclear test of Pakistani A-bomb."

"The United States and China are increasing their military activities in Asia. Both are aiding counterrevolutionaries in Afghanistan. Their increased military presence in the Indian Ocean disturbs India. Military cooperation between Washington and China disturbs all of Asia."

"The United States is strengthening its military alliance with China."

"China openly admits that it has trade agreements with the dictatorship of South Korea."

#### SOUTH AFRICA-ANGOLA

Moscow's propaganda apparatus continued to exploit fully South African military actions and operations in Angola. The editors of Red Star underscored that the United States vetoed United Nations Resolution 13 which condemned South Africa aggression. The Soviets stressed that Washington continues to strengthen its military relations with South Africa.

The main thematic thrust and focus of Russian propaganda concerning South Africa are evident from the tone of the following Red Star headlines and abstracts.

"United States and its allies continue to violate UN embargo on sale of weapons to Pretoria."

"South Africa and Israel strengthen military alliance. They are working on a joint development of nuclear arms."

"South Africa is using chemical warfare against Angolan people."

"Members of UN General Assembly criticize U.S. support of South African occupation of Namibia. Pretoria and its supporters are undermining Resolution No. 435, which calls for free elections and independence for Namibia."

"Angolan armed forces courageously fight South African racist forces. World condemns South African aggression."

"South African racists must stop their criminal aggression against Angola. The racists are bombing schools, hospitals, innocent people and children. This barbarism is possible due to West's support of South Africa."

"Racist South Africa continues to occupy Angolan territory. Governments worldwide criticize aggression in Angola and policy toward Namibia."

"South Africa continues aggression against Angola. Plans to bomb Onzhiva with napalm. Seeks to reestablish Junta as government in South Africa."

"Angola successfully fends off South African aggression."

"Many governments criticize the U.S. veto in the Security Council in favor of South Africa's occupation of Namibia. The U.S. support of South Africa increases tension in the area."

#### JAPAN

During the past 27 months, the Soviets have consistently allocated over two percent of Red Star's foreign coverage to Japan (see Table 1). The major thrust of Russian propaganda continued to articulate the evils of Japanese militarism and underscored that the United States is deploying medium-range nuclear missiles and a variety of other nuclear weapons to Japan.

Abstracts of selected Soviet propaganda articles that reveal the content, tone and focus of Russian propaganda are below:

"Over 90 ships and 16,000 military personnel will participate in joint American-Japanese naval maneuvers in the Sea of Japan."

"The Japanese Prime Minister, D. Suzuki, tours Hokkaido military bases. Suzuki discusses unfounded territorial claims on Kuril Islands of the Soviet Union."

"South Korean officers arrive in Yokosuka for training at the military academy. Recently Japan and South Korea have strengthened their military alliance. Ships of the Korean navy visit Japanese ports and Japan and South Korea conduct joint exercises. Japan is required to aid the South Korean dictatorship and increase its military potential."

"The United States is increasing its military presence in Japan, and will spend \$22.6 million to reinforce its bases in Japan. Military maintenance facilities and arsenals will be enlarged."

"U.S. General Donnelly encourages Japan to increase the size of its self-defense force and military budget."

#### AFGHANISTAN

Soviet media coverage of activities and events in Afghanistan decreased significantly in September 1981 (see Table 1). The main thrust of Soviet propaganda criticized counterrevolutionaries, United States, Pakistan and China. Some examples of the scope and tone of Soviet coverage of Afghanistan are listed in the abstracts below:

"CONFESSON OF A BANDIT! Afghanistan counterrevolutionary admits to being trained by United States instructors in Pakistan near Peshavar."

"The U.S. buys weapons from Egypt, many Soviet-made, and ships them to counterrevolutionaries in Afghanistan. These shipments continue."

"Anti-Afghanistan meeting is held in Washington, D.C. These counterrevolutionaries criticize the Soviet Union and the Government in Kabul. They ask the U.S. Congress for more money to fight the government in Afghanistan."

"The Afghanistan armed forces captured a large group of counterrevolutionaries (and their weapons) in the Pandjshir River area."

"Senior political officers from the armed forces, security forces and militia attended a conference in Kabul. The following subjects were discussed: liquidating counterrevolutionary bands, strengthening defenses against imperialist intervention and the general problems of the counterrevolution."

PART II - COVERAGE OF SOVIET DOMESTIC AND MILITARY SUBJECTS

Of the total space in Red Star for September 1981, 73 percent was allocated to domestic news and comment about military, political, economic and social issues in the USSR. News and feature stories about the Soviet military represented 69 percent of the total domestic coverage. The space allocated to domestic politics and related subjects represented the normal distribution pattern for such Red Star coverage. A statistical view of major subjects about the Soviet Union for 14 months in 1980-81 is shown in Table 6, below. (Percent is total of Soviet domestic and military subjects.)

Table 6

SUBJECT/THEME	1981												1980				
	SEP	AUG	JUL	JUN	MAY	APR	MAR	FEB	JAN	DEC	NOV	OCT	SEP	AUG			
Soviet Military.....	69%	68%	67%	67%	58%	59%	51%	43%	62%	54%	54%	54%	70%	61%			
Domestic Politics...	03%	04%	02%	06%	10%	09%	13%	29%	05%	05%	15%	06%	03%	06%			
Economy/Technology..	06%	05%	08%	05%	07%	10%	14%	12%	10%	12%	05%	10%	06%	06%			
Society/Culture.....	09%	08%	10%	09%	09%	10%	09%	07%	12%	11%	11%	10%	09%	07%			
Foreign Affairs.....	07%	05%	07%	08%	10%	08%	07%	04%	04%	12%	09%	14%	07%	14%			
Other.....	06%	10%	06%	05%	06%	04%	06%	05%	07%	06%	06%	06%	05%	06%			
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%		

The military editors of Red Star continued to place significant emphasis on the requirement for the expanded use of new technology in military training. A series of feature articles emphasized that new technology should be used to simulate actual battle conditions and aid in the training of essential military skills.

During September 1981, the editors of Red Star volubly reported the events associated with a major Soviet military exercise - ZAPAD-81. This joint (Army-Navy-Marine-Air Force) exercise was staged in the Byelorussian Baltic Region of the Soviet Union. Marshalls Ustinov and Ogarkov inspected and reviewed the troops that participated in ZAPAD-81. Marshall Ustinov praised the progress of the exercise and the military readiness of the Soviet armed forces. The Soviet Defense Minister emphasized that enhanced readiness is "necessary in face of the increasing threat from the United States and NATO militarism." The following abstracts reflect the scope and tone of a sample of articles pertaining to the ZAPAD-81 military exercise.

Date

Scope of Event

- 8 September - "Amphibious operations are successful, due to cohesiveness and cooperation of all services. In successful amphibious operations each man must know his exact function."
- 9 September - "Assault boats repel air attacks. Troops conduct beach landings, artillery regiment supports operation. Close-air support excels. Officers demonstrate decisiveness and initiative in assault operations."
- 10 September - "Maneuvers continue in Byelorussian Baltic Region. Southern Group attacks and defeats enemy in an air assault (airborne) operation."
- 11 September - "Air Force obtains and maintains air supremacy."
- 12 September - "Tank units excel in field operations."
- 12 September - "Naval aviation excels in assault operations."
- 12 September - "Helicopter units excel in assault operations."
- 12 September - "Air reconnaissance flights gather intelligence."
- 16 September - "Four tank battalions conduct assault operations."
- 18 September - "Guard Units excel in assault operations."
- 23 September - "Marine infantry units conducted successful assault landing and attack. Tank company excels in firing exercise under poor visibility. Armored infantry battalion excels in joint assault exercise with artillery and air defense units in river crossing operation. Reconnaissance aircraft photograph enemy's nuclear missile facilities located in mountainous area."

THE SOVIET MILITARY

As in previous months, news articles and feature stories about Soviet military discipline, morale, military training and field exercises received the majority of space pertaining to military subjects (see Table 7). (Percent is total Soviet military coverage.)

TABLE 7

<u>MILITARY/SUBJECT</u>	<u>1981</u>										<u>1980</u>		
	<u>SEP</u>	<u>AUG</u>	<u>JUL</u>	<u>JUN</u>	<u>MAY</u>	<u>APR</u>	<u>MAR</u>	<u>FEB</u>	<u>JAN</u>		<u>DEC</u>	<u>NOV</u>	<u>OCT</u>
Military Discipline/Morale .....	36%	38%	41%	35%	44%	43%	46%	41%	39%		46%	37%	42%
Soviet Military Training/Exercises .....	36%	35%	34%	31%	25%	35%	32%	35%	41%		37%	34%	37%
Soviet History/WW II ...	17%	17%	14%	24%	19%	11%	10%	14%	08%		08%	18%	13%
Military Logistics .....	04%	07%	07%	05%	06%	06%	04%	05%	09%		05%	05%	03%
Peace and Disarmament .....	04%	02%	02%	04%	04%	03%	06%	03%	01%		02%	00%	01%
Other Military .....	03%	01%	02%	01%	02%	02%	01%	02%	02%		02%	05%	04%
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%		100%	100%	100%

Over 4 percent of Red Star space about Soviet military subjects was critical in tone. The majority of negative and/or derogatory articles concerned military discipline and morale of the Soviet military - in fact, 6 percent of the space devoted to military discipline and morale was critical in tone - this is a decrease of 1 percent from August 1981.

It should be noted that the Soviet military political indoctrination system (the Political cadre) uses Red Star as the basis for daily lectures and indoctrination. The negative articles are frequently employed as examples for improvement, and generally contain an "educational" message for the audience (and all readers).

The major focus of issues and subjects in Red Star critical in tone toward the Soviet military establishment did not change significantly from the previous month. It was emphasized that: (1) military/political training must improve - political officers must influence all activities; (2) new technology should be emphasized in tactical field training; (3) teamwork and unit team spirit are important for morale and need improvement; (4) Soviet officers and soldiers must be taught to maintain World War II heroic traditions; and (5) a determined effort should be made to conserve fuel and energy (in the Soviet military).

Selected abstracts that reveal the scope, focus, and tone of Red Star articles pertaining to the Soviet military are presented below:

"The socialist competition for conservation of fuel and other supplies is inspiring workers of the military trade directorates to work harder."

"During tactical training it is most important to simulate actual battle conditions and the tension associated with combat. The elements of surprise and difficult field conditions must be incorporated into tactical training. Monotonous and routine training cannot prepare soldiers for the real thing."

"Military field exercises and maneuvers are the best methods for training men to fight and master weapons and military technology. Field training also strengthens moral fiber, discipline and teaches men the value of courage and heroism. Maneuvers such as ZAPAD-81 test skills, training and team cooperation. ZAPAD-81 separates the men from the boys, it shows who is worthy of the honor of being a Soviet soldier."

"During missile training several officers misinterpreted data on the radar screen and they destroyed the wrong targets. In search and destroy training, men must be alert and capable of doing one operation after the other in rapid succession. Fast reaction must become automatic. Mistakes, confusion and "falling apart" cannot be excused. Constant practice is necessary to obtain team work and expertise."

"All officers are responsible for (using) the most efficient and effective methods of teaching subordinates to master military technology, care and operation of weapons and battle strategy. This must be accomplished in the shortest possible time. All commanding officers must be able to organize training, use time wisely, encourage spirit of competition and team work."

"The ship's communication team must always work efficiently. Communications with other ships, planes etc. is very important, especially in emergency or battle situations. All signal personnel must be thoroughly trained."

"Effective pilot training must be well organized so that the most amount of information can be taught in the shortest period of time. Also, must use fuel and supplies efficiently. Officers must be in close contact with men, observe and analyze training (closely)."

"Political workers play an important part in organizing and supervising tactical training. They can inspire men to excel with stories of World War II heroism and discussions of CPSU requirements."

"Proper preparation for battle requires thorough knowledge of military technology and mastering all weapon systems, and good physical and moral preparation. All of this is acquired through good training. Tactical training must simulate the real battle conditions. All officers must organize training so it is thorough and efficient. Training must be challenging and demanding. Officers should be creative and use training materials efficiently."

"It is the job of political officers to insure that World War II experiences are applied to tactical training."

"Officers must demand excellence from themselves and all others during tactical training and in fulfilling all duties, including political training. Failure and mistakes cannot be tolerated."

"Maintaining morale and discipline depends on relationships between officers and men. Officers must be aware of the needs and problems of their men, including problems and weak points. Praise and disciplinary measures must suit the action. Proper ideological training of men is necessary."

"Military party organizations must influence and supervise tactical training as well as morale and discipline of military personnel. Mistakes must be used as tools for improvement. Important responsibilities of political officers are to insure socialist competitions and proper organization of training."

"Political officers and party members must improve and perfect ideological training of all military personnel. Political officers must supervise and monitor military training and must help maintain morale and discipline."

"Military party organizations and political officers should take an active part in forming communist character of military personnel. Political officers must be excellent examples for men to emulate. Criticism should be vital part of training. Men must learn through mistakes."

"It is necessary that superiors set proper examples. Newly promoted officers must be taught his responsibilities and be encouraged to use his initiative and creativity. A superior officer who neglects supervising his subordinates, is neglecting one of his most important duties."

"A military tribunal tries a young soldier for singing devious songs about military life, hitting a comrade, and for several other incidents of misconduct. His commanding officer and comrades are held responsible for their indifference and for covering up. The soldier is sentenced to three years in prison and his commanding officer is relieved."

"A reserve officer forges documents which make him a reserve LTCOL, with the benefits of two clinics in Moscow. In addition he fraudently obtained two World War II medals and other military papers which he used for his own personal gain. He cannot be criticized enough. He is a man without honor or conscience."

## APPENDIX A

### A Selection of Propaganda Cartoons

Propaganda cartoons are used from time to time to underscore selected propaganda themes. The following sample of cartoons are from the September issues of Red Star, and reflect the scope and tone of Soviet propaganda with respect to the following themes:

<u>Cartoon Number</u>	<u>Primary Propaganda Theme</u>
1	U.S. Military/Political Hegemony in Asia.
2	U.S. Military/Political Hegemony.
3	The Arms Race.
4	U.S. Imperialism and Military Assistance to South Africa.

США поддерживают планы милитаризации Японии

(В газет).



Современный СЭМурей и его меч.

Рис. М. АБРАМОВА.

U.S. supports militaristic plans of Japan

Modern Samurai and his sword

Бредовые планы мирового господства, вынашиваемые США, напоминают планы  
печальной памяти бесноватого фюрера третьего рейха.

(На газет).



БРЕДОВЫЕ ПЛАНЫ.

Рис. М. АБРАМОВА

The U.S. is nurturing delirious plans for world supremacy which bring back the  
sad memory of the plans of the crazed Führer during the Third Reich.

Delirious Plans!



ПОДХЛЕСТЫВАЕТ..

Рис. В. СТУПИНА.

Urging it forward

Народная Ангола дает отпор южноафриканским агрессорам, действующим в союзе с международным империализмом во главе с США.

(На газет).



НЕ ЗАПУГАТЬ

Рис. В. ВОЛКОВА.

Angola repels S. African aggression, acting in coordination with international imperialists headed by USA.

Don't be afraid!

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